105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
776 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that
[833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
834 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assáñ*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:
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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasí*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeń*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

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A pregnant (*nabu-sít*; *bu-sít*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksít*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *síkúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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846 Then men in flesh and bones are to be considered. Now the Isneg do not want to take any chances, and so they forbid access to any outsider, whether a relative or not; nobody is allowed to enter the house, in some places for one day, in others for five days, and in still others (Bayag) for ten days. It is especially and very strictly forbidden, for the same period of time, to any person, whether inmate of the house or not, who has been drinking *bási* (an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), to approach the house where a child has been born. Besides, no inmate of the house is permitted to do heavy work for the same period of time, although he is allowed to leave the house if he chooses to do so, but he may not take anything with him outside. At Bayag, however, the father of the child stays at home for five days; here he is allowed to move around, to occupy himself with light work, etc., but he may not leave the house: this prohibition does not obtain elsewhere.

At any rate frequent visits are believed to be not only harmful, but even decidedly fatal to the young mother; an Isneg woman who dies on that account is said to be *maduńálān*.

Besides the taboos just enumerated and those mentioned before with reference to fire, the following very important ones should be noted:

No communication of the shaman with the spirits (*maxaníto*), no sacrifice, takes place at the birth of a child; all killing of animals in honor of the spirits is strictly *kannáw* (taboo). Is the reason perhaps to be found in the fact that a sacrifice is a kind of invitation to the spirits or at least draws their attention toward the offerers, while they have to be kept away by all means during the first period of the child's life?

For the same reason, namely lest the spirits be attracted toward the house, it is strictly tabooed to bring any kind of light under it (*siduń*) at night, as long as the child and its mother are obliged to stay inside. During the same period of time, no body is allowed to go under the house (*siduń*), whether at night or in the daytime, whether the person in question be an inmate of the house or a stranger.

846 Food forbidden to a woman after her delivery:
262 Fowl, lest she die;
Sugar cane that is provided with buds ready to spring forth into new shoots, lest she remain weak; the *banótān*, which was forbidden to her while she was still pregnant, also remains taboo;

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only after it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she is liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawiq*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *saŕíkaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxanito* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxanito*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso-*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

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854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyān*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those

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they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómăn* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according
262 to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómăn* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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[586] then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very
585 uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again pre-
263 pared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights,
585 not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the
585 afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their,
262 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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obtain at the death of a person, refers to certain persons or groups of persons entering and in some cases even approaching the house of the deceased. Therefore it is usual among many Isneg to surround the house with a kind of fence, which consists of a few short uprights stuck in the ground, and a couple of strips of bamboo tied to them in such a way as to remain at a respectable distance from one another. This custom is observed at Bolo, Karagawan, Dangla, Naglabalayan, etc. At the latter place such a fence was erected after the burial of *To-li* (beginning of 1931), but it was gone after the first month. In other settlements, a small bundle of herbs, or of leafy canes or branches, is tied to one of the poles at the entrance of the regular fence that surrounds many houses or groups of houses in Apayaw. Again in some places, a small internode of bamboo (an *ənázān*, used for a cup in the distribution of *bánj*) is tied on top of a bamboo pole stuck in the house yard; this has been met with at Karagawan.

In some settlements, no outsiders, not even any of the neighbors, except the relatives of the deceased person, provided they wear their everyday clothes or their mourning apparel, are allowed to enter the house until the time of the *obóbāt*. In others, only persons of the same sex are forbidden access to the house; and in still others, for instance, at Magapta, only adults of both sexes are forbidden to enter the house where an adult has died, while only children are refused entrance into the house where a child died.

In most places, no children are allowed to enter the house where an *inadt* is still left unburied; in others, they are not allowed to do so, even after burial, in which case this taboo lasts until the time of the *obóbāt*.

People in festive attire are strictly forbidden, not only to enter, but even to pass near, the house of a deceased person, until the celebration of the *obóbāt* ceremony: this custom obtains all over Apayaw.

The most important taboos connected with the death of a person are undoubtedly those which the Isneg observe when they *maágabi* and *magló*.

Maágabi, which means "to abstain from rice and taro (*áwāy*)", is practised by widows all over Apayaw, almost universally by widowers, and also in many instances by those relatives who wear mourning and want to show their esteem for the deceased. It lasts till the time of the *obóbāt*. Rice and taro are said to be the food of the dead for the time being and, in the meanwhile, the living have to content themselves with corn, sweet potatoes, yams and so on. I know a com-

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765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Darika*, who has
775 not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
262 time (March, 1931) she still *maŋgabi*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbat*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Maglo:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbat*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *basi;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balikiú* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáu* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
523 stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
193 very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *paŋ*, *ŋ* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *án*) or *pag-sinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siŋán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *án*).

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Ilоko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared tabeo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkus* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalaydu*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáuan* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on [illegible] is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*doń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *anáboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nóń*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sǎy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

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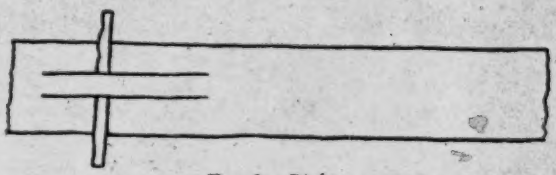

Fig. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsip*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ñílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *adddág* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangla, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *aníboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 784 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *síxăy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adás*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.1 In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye:	*masoltâ-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natây*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

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24 urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aṅtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

262 784 Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múṅaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúṅaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúṅaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

249 When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

482 All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

245 Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baldyaṅ* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish, eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráṅan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binaṅá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted. 245

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáñ*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráñan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*bílaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpít*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut [262] it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mañbág, tabgán*) before the 251 bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mañlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tañasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single 252 bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called [245] *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tañabúlig; mibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

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244 hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

244 When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the
785 tubers (*magsíkaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líńān*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

241 Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxílpá*) and
824 other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.
262 The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otóń*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tańíńi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátoń* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *palláń* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *masćti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *síńkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuñáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupiðy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabðyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińgán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídān*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpā-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amílin*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *xappō-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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241 The *laññá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naññá, bannuwáñ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *barinát* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáñ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáñ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwañ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

[283] The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piñpiñ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáñ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáñ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáñ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkalláñ*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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To nönná ńa alzáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawazán ńam 245
ăwán piám maiyúg kid apăyaw,/ ńam ăy ránna la uvód da iyúg ga 824
nillód./ Nasińán daté tólăy ńluzánda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálă-./ 539
Nasińán din to kusá sinaluzánna séna iddán kadaté tólăy séda imúla./
Tówin ya naggăyatán ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam zapó ta ipaanďńi dăyá
kusá to nańalá-da kité nagdallísna kité nönná ńa alzáw séno atán ya
mańallód ónó mańízăd mińirańiráw dăyá kusó mazáwăgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to 245
do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxăt, buzátan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should [784]
abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarďy* or *magpaarďy*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arďy*) that are in their first stage, [262]
namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abág séno nasulít a bunután

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245 824 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulílib*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *raxúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpanndt*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánaṅ* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 824 The *marońday* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúday* or *kasúday* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

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The *tŏsi, katŏsit* or *antŏsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxâyan*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lañpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulíbañ* or *kulalbáñ*.

The *kawâyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíñan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alañíxan* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bañíñaw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapítan* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kóman* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lâyañá* or *âyañá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoñ* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars are
523 valued up to P200 and bead up to P150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[43] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[680] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

1 [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST 8]

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574]
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house [262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is
strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said
to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes
to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company
with several old women. They all stop about one hun-
dred yards from the house of the youth. There they
are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bear-
ing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The
youth's mother then requests the girl from her pa-
rents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to
the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the
parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00
per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con-
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the
morning final payments of the dowry are made and
distributed. Then the young couple are considered to
be properly married, but still controlled by their pa-
rents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law
will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it,
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so
that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 241 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [82] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi;* but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over